



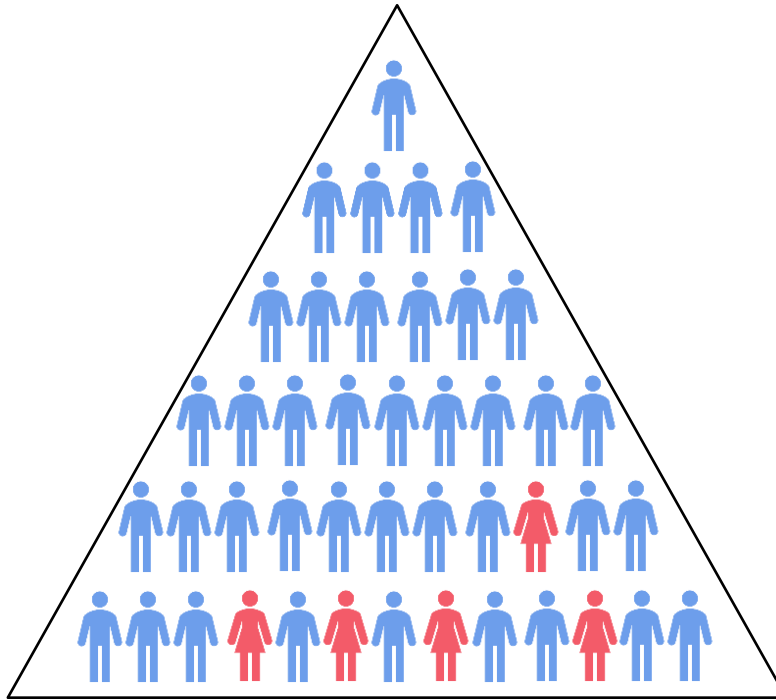
# BRINGING OUTSIDERS IN

Foreign Workers and Women in Elite  
Jobs in Corporate Japan

Hilary J. Holbrow, PhD

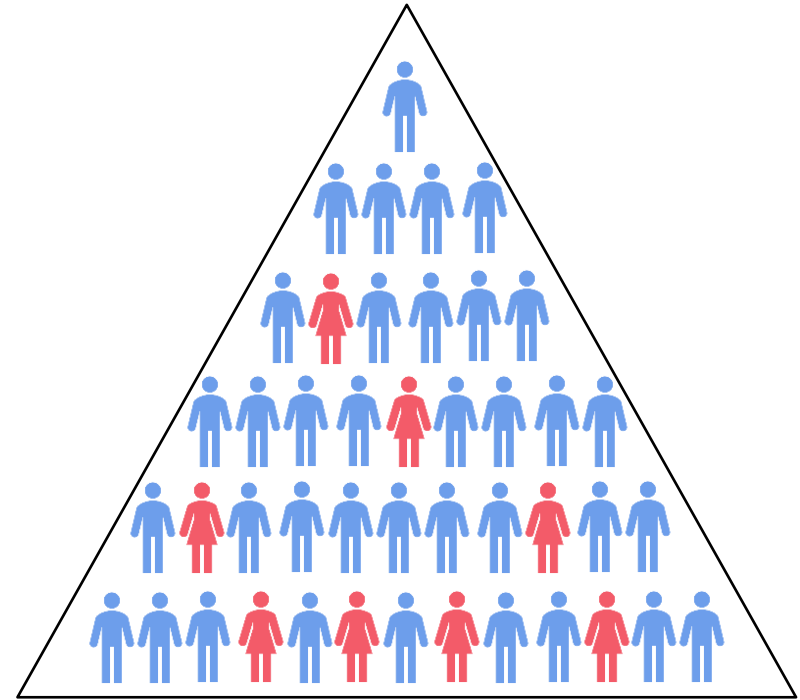
June 18, 2018

## OUTSIDERS IN CORPORATE JAPAN: PAST AND PRESENT



c. 1985 Women were:

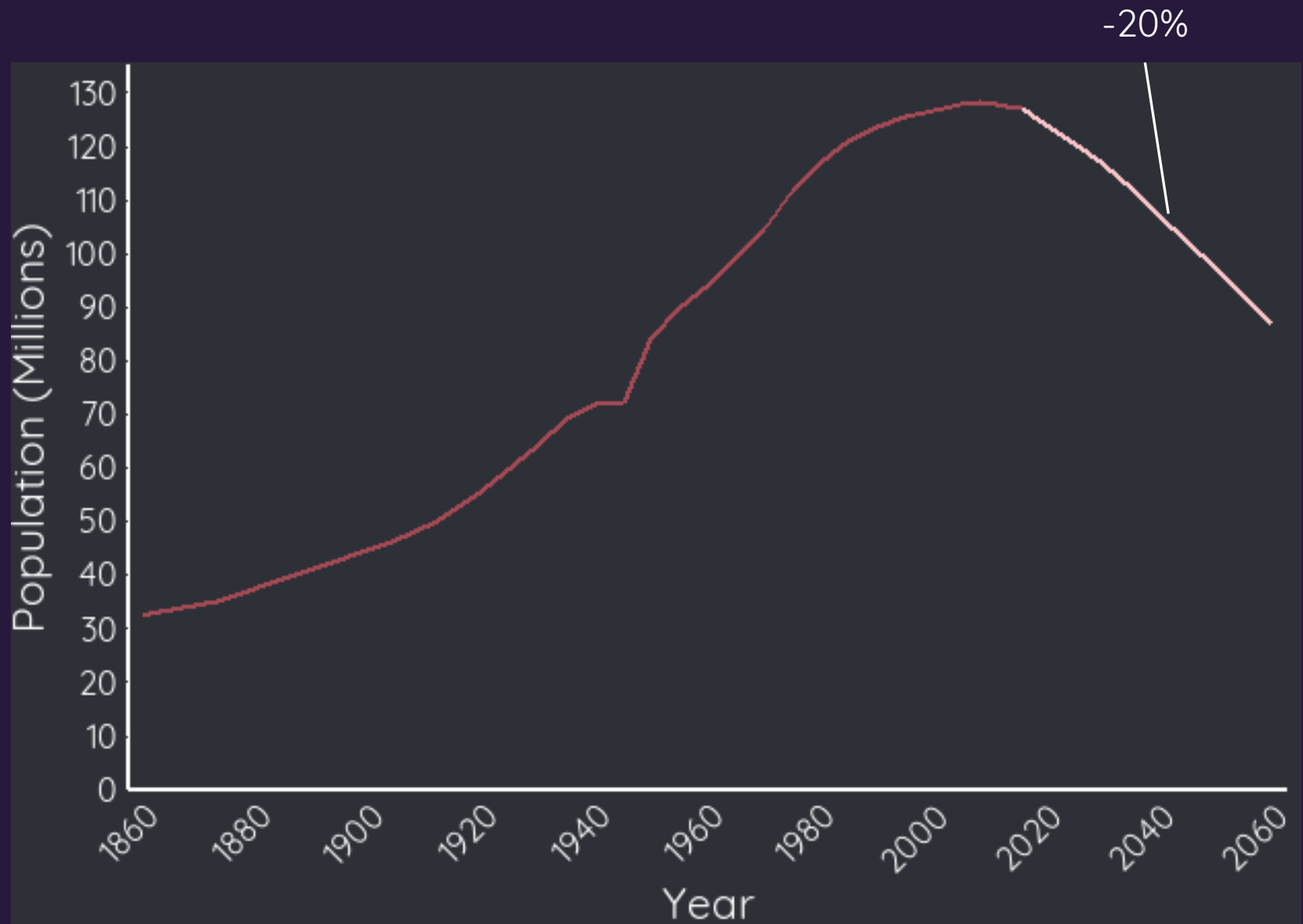
29% of Regular Employees  
5% of supervisors  
<5% managers



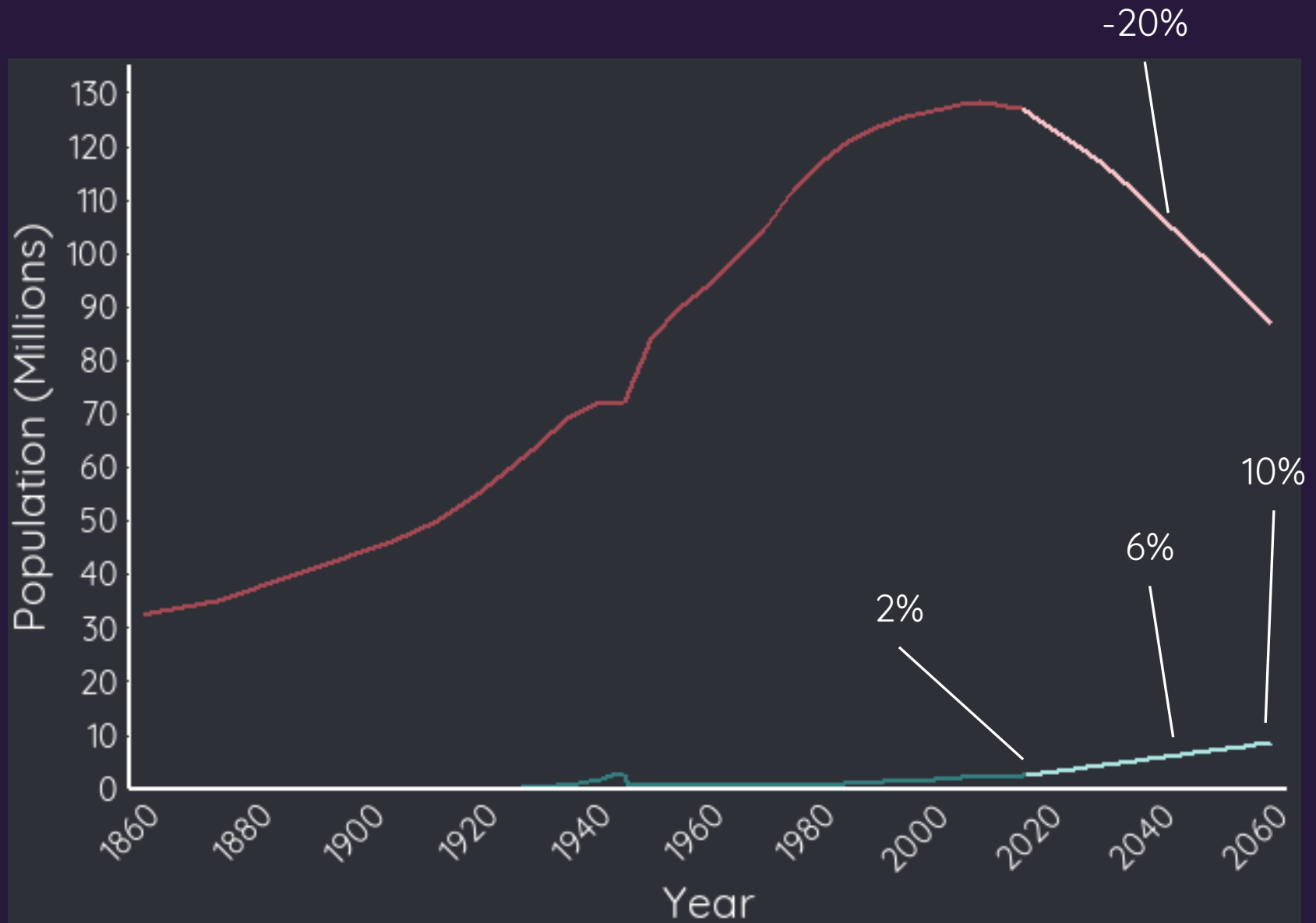
c. 2015 Women are:

31% of Regular Employees  
16% of supervisors  
7% managers

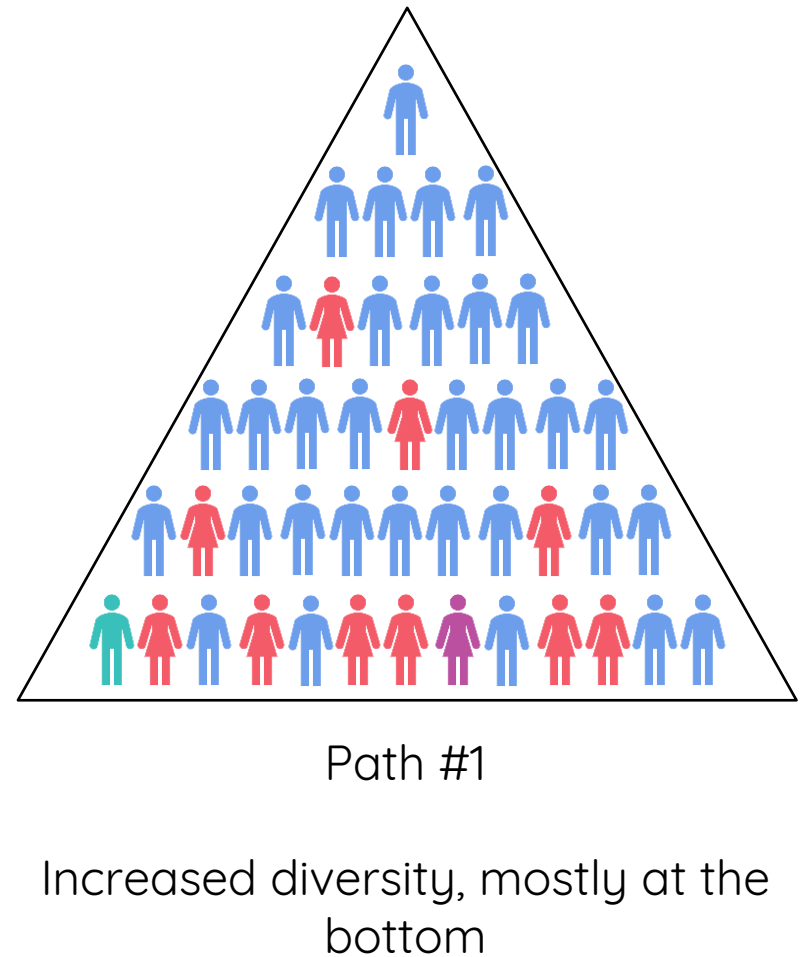
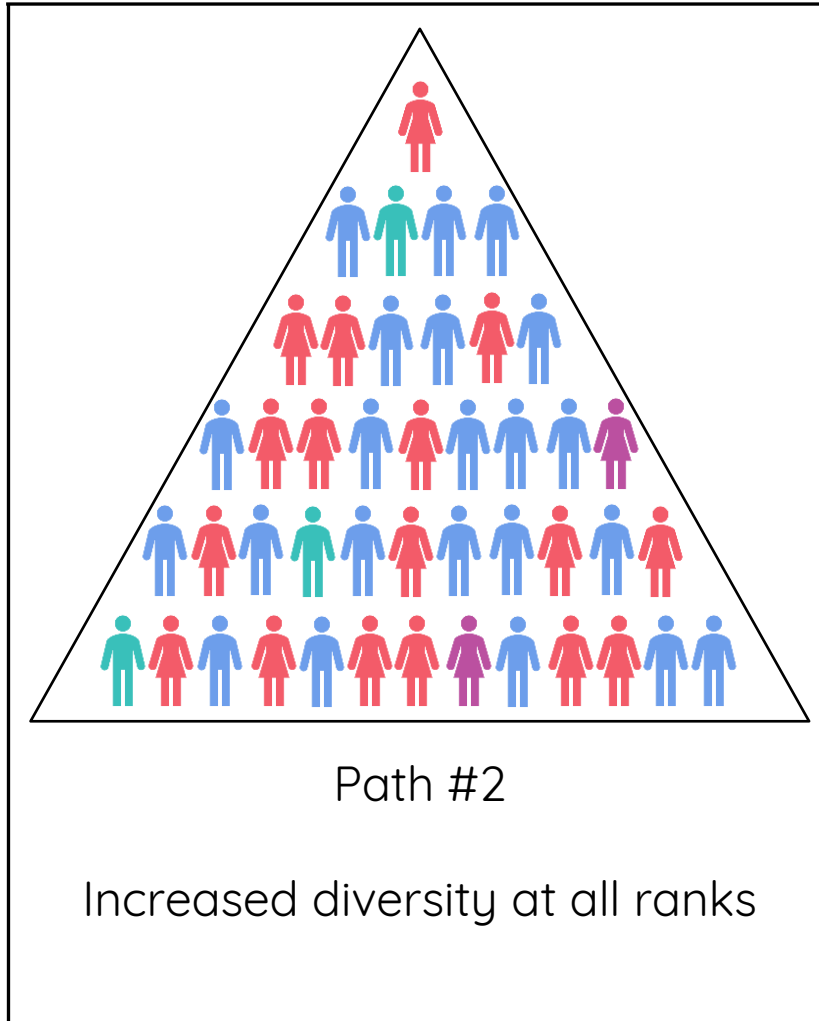
## DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURES



## DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURES



## OUTSIDERS IN CORPORATE JAPAN: FUTURE PROSPECTS





How do we get off “Path 1”  
and onto “Path 2” ?

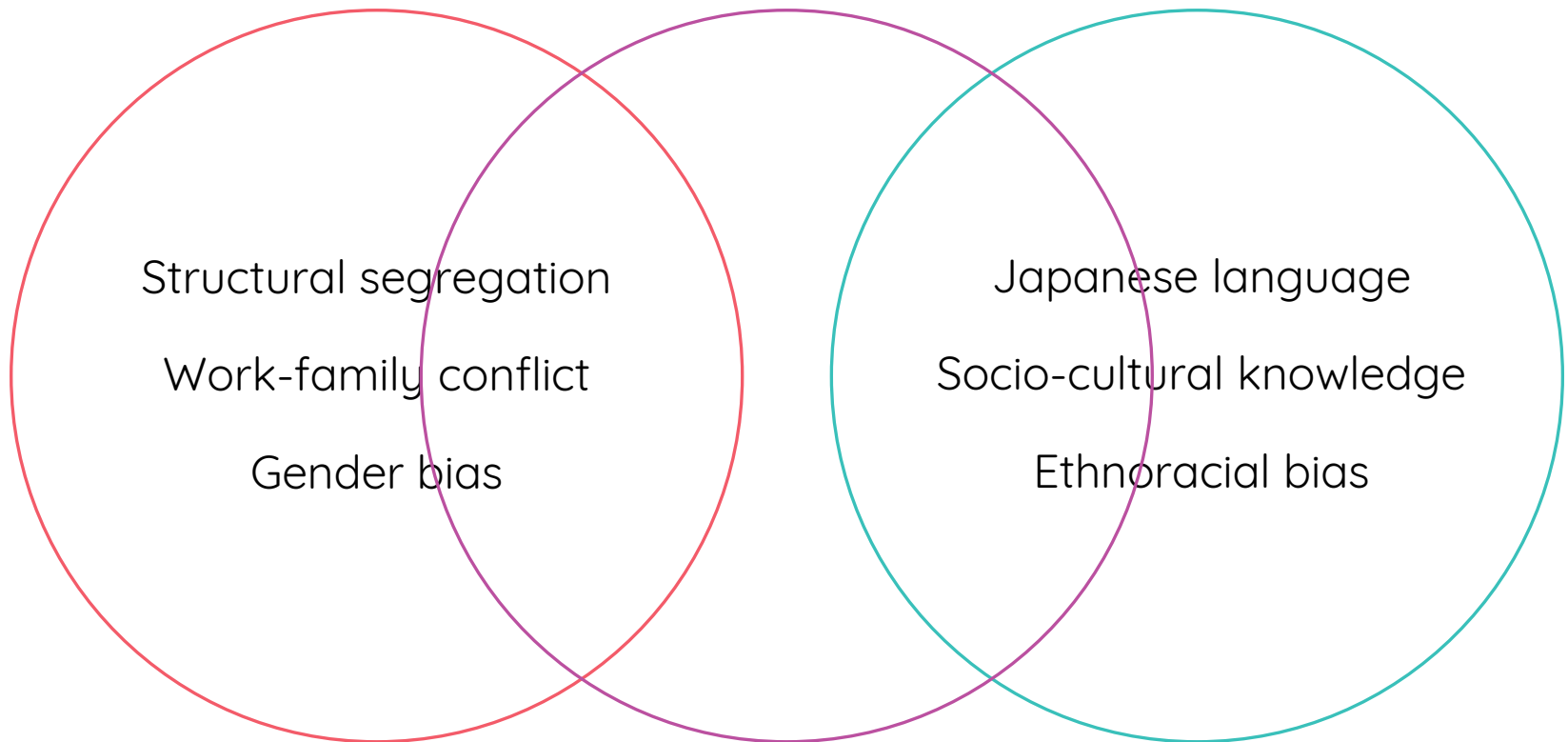


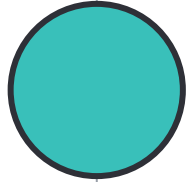
## OUTSIDER GROUPS AND BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT

**Japanese Women**

**Foreign Women**

**Foreign Men**





# RESEARCH CONTEXT





## RESEARCH SITE

# of Firms :	12
Size:	>500 employees
Industries:	Manufacturing, business serv., consumer serv.
Survey Period :	February-April 2015
Survey Meth. :	Internet
Survey Lang. :	Japanese, English, Mandarin Chinese



## RESPONDENTS

# of Respondents :

312 Japanese men

129 Japanese women

33 Asian men

41 Asian women

19 Western men

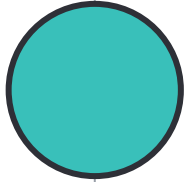
3 Western women

2 Latin American men



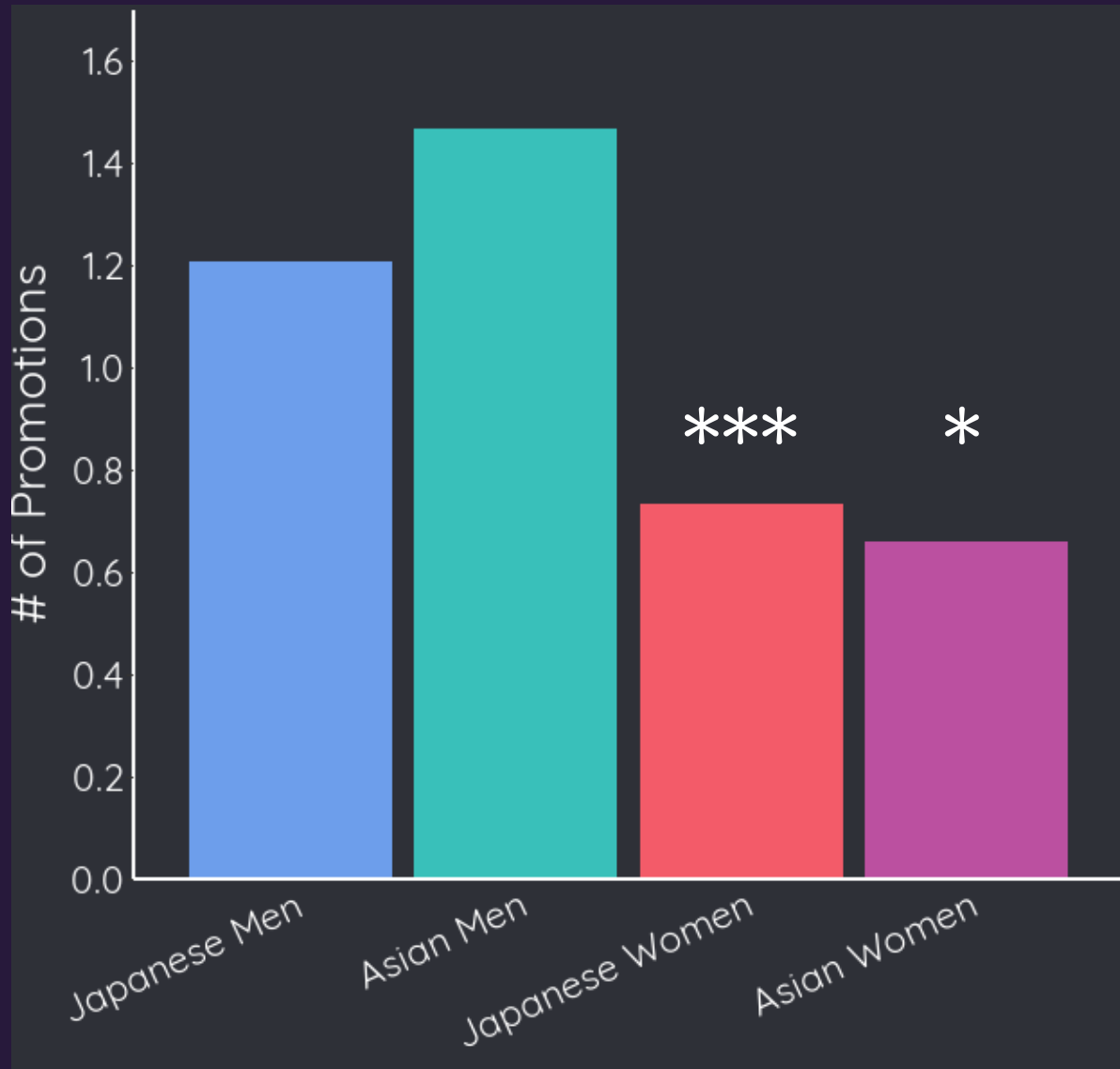
## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	Japanese Men	Japanese Women	Asian Men	Asian Women
Years of education	<b>16.3</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>17.3</b>
Age	<b>40.5</b>	<b>37.6</b>	<b>33.2</b>	<b>31.6</b>
Tenure	<b>12.1</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>
% Fluent Japanese	<b>99.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>78.8</b>	<b>85.4</b>
Years in Japan	<b>39.3</b>	<b>36.1</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>8.9</b>
% Advanced English	<b>26.0</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>75.8</b>	<b>53.7</b>



# RESULTS

## PREDICTED PROMOTIONS (FROM MIXED EFFECTS POISSON)



\*\*\* p < .001

\*\* p < .01

\* p < .05

**Adjustment variables:**

yrs. ed., age, age<sup>2</sup>, tenure,

tenure<sup>2</sup>



Women face higher barriers to advancement than foreign men.



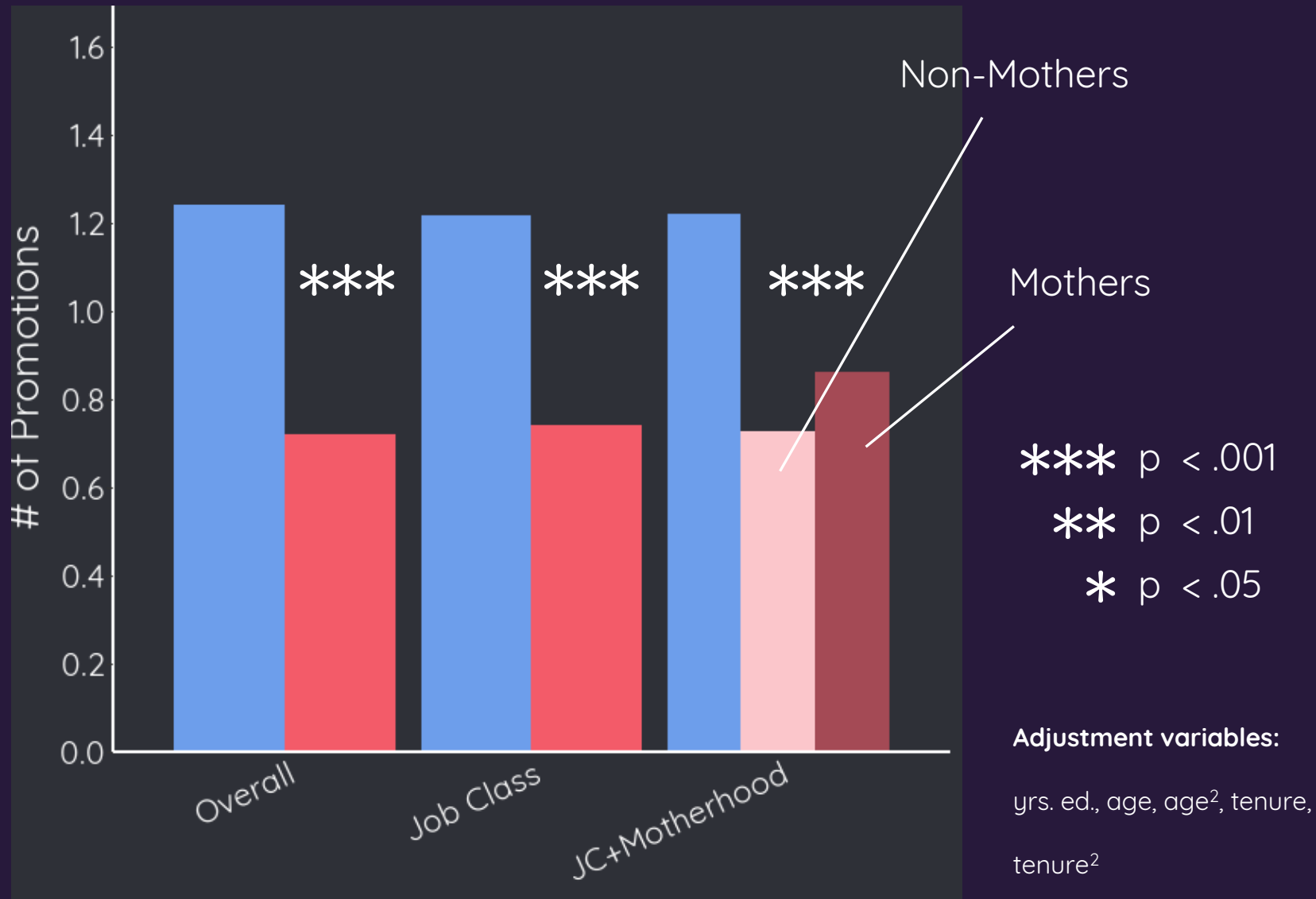
## BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT

Structural segregation

Work-family conflict

Gender bias

# PREDICTED PROMOTIONS, ADJUSTED FOR JOB CLASS / MOTHERHOOD (FROM MIXED EFFECTS POISSON)

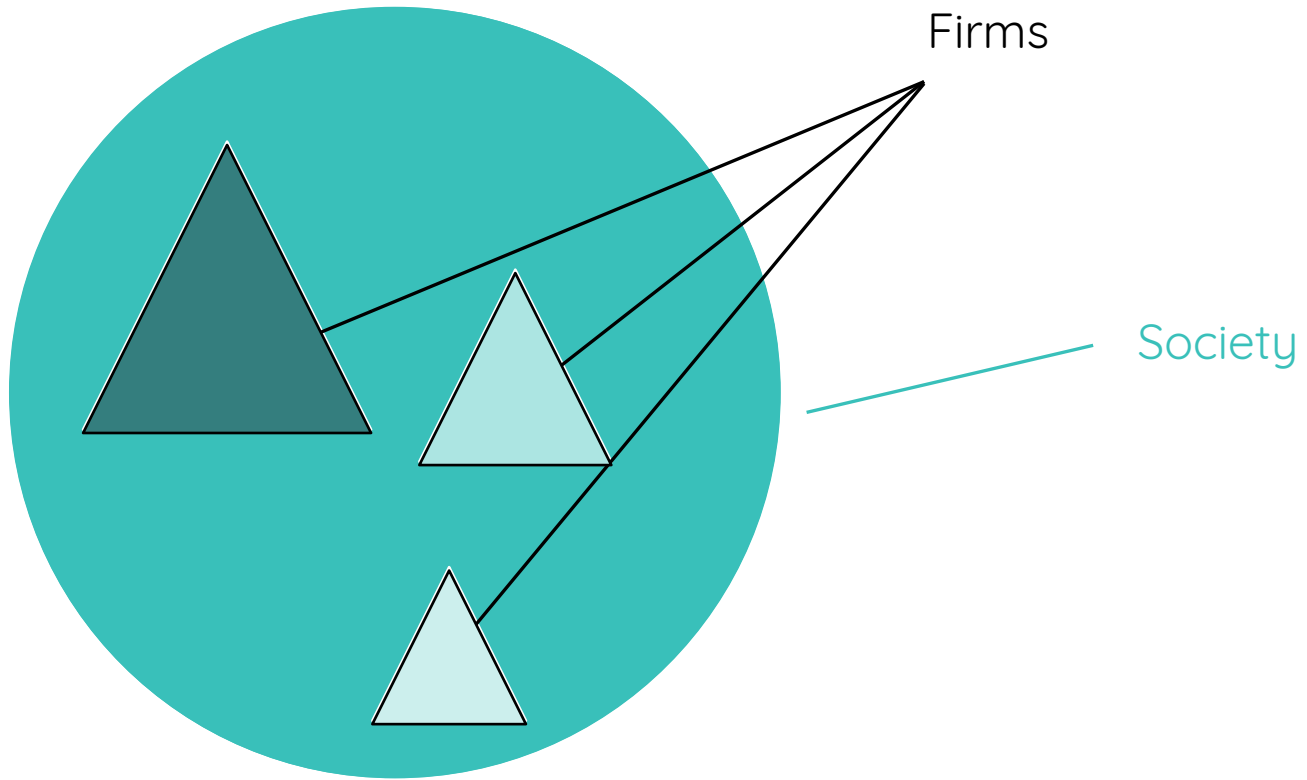






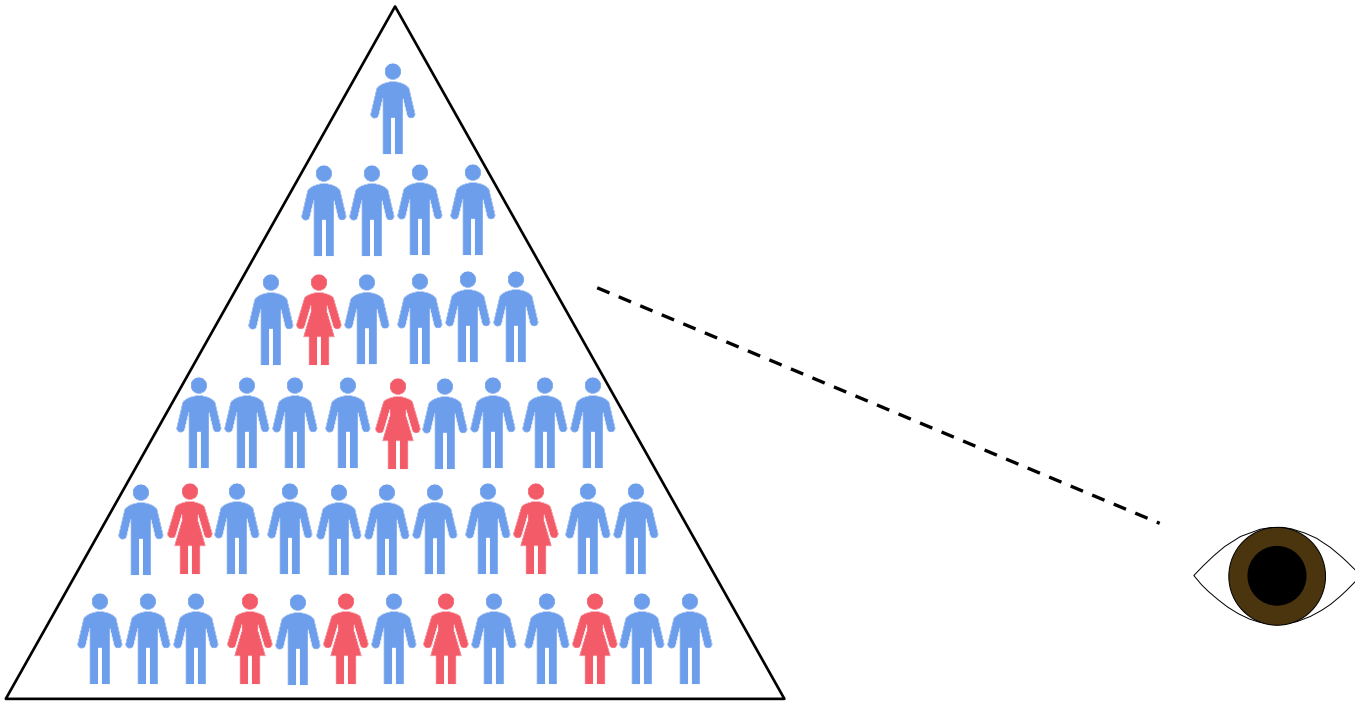
Job segregation and work-family conflict cannot explain the gender gap in promotions.

ORIGINS OF BIAS IN FIRMS



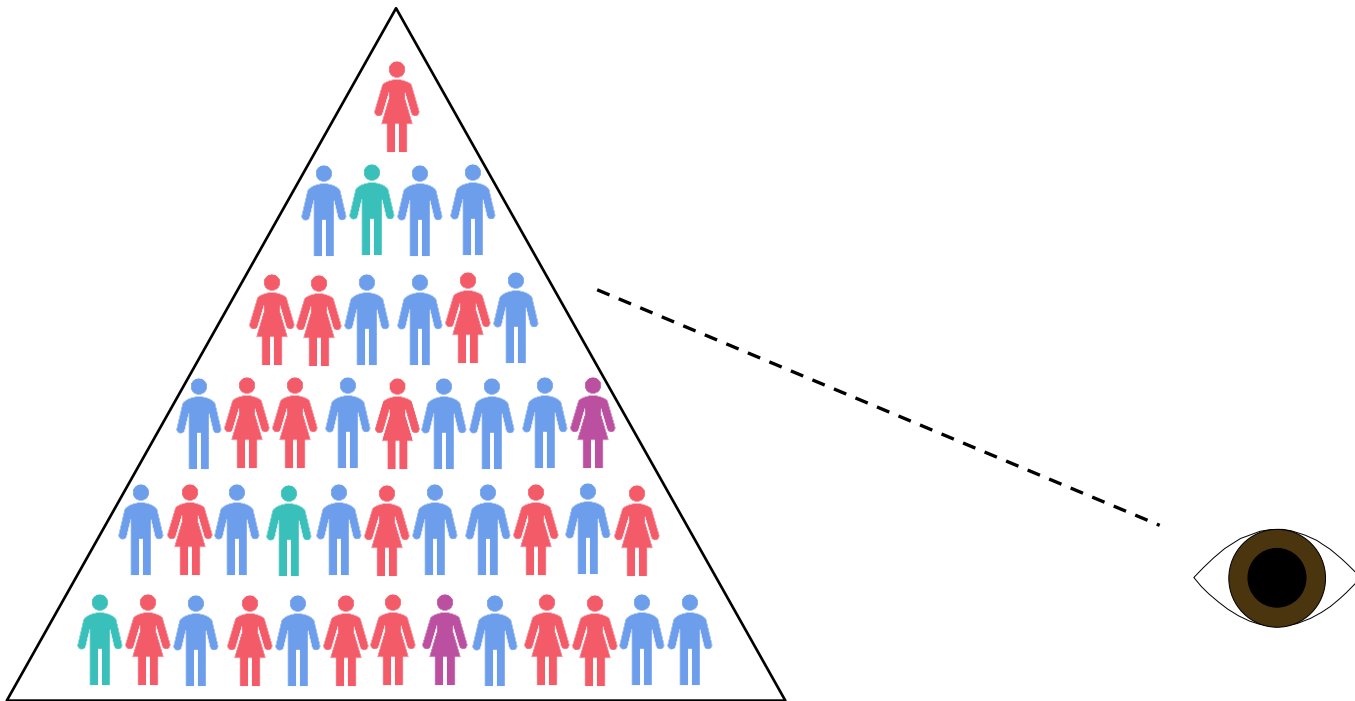


# SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER BIAS





# SOCIAL (DE)CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER BIAS



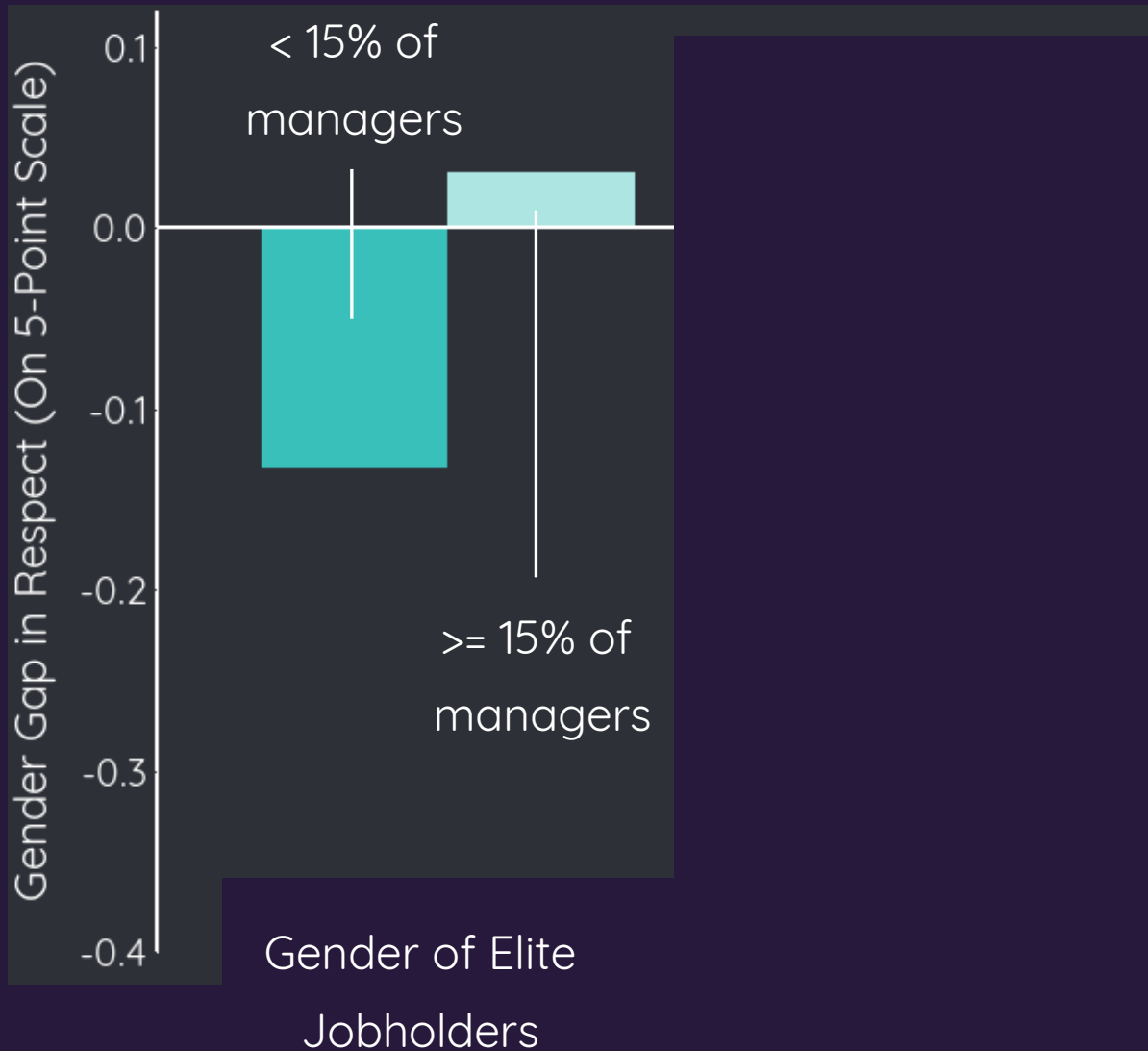


## VALUE PLACED ON WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS

“My supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ values my contributions on the job.”

Always (5)	}	44% of men
Often (4)		33% of women
Sometimes (3)		
Rarely (2)		
Never (1)		

## PREDICTED GENDER GAP IN “FEELING VALUED” BY SUPERVISORS (FROM MIXED EFFECTS LINEAR)



\*\*\* p < .001

\*\* p < .01

\* p < .05

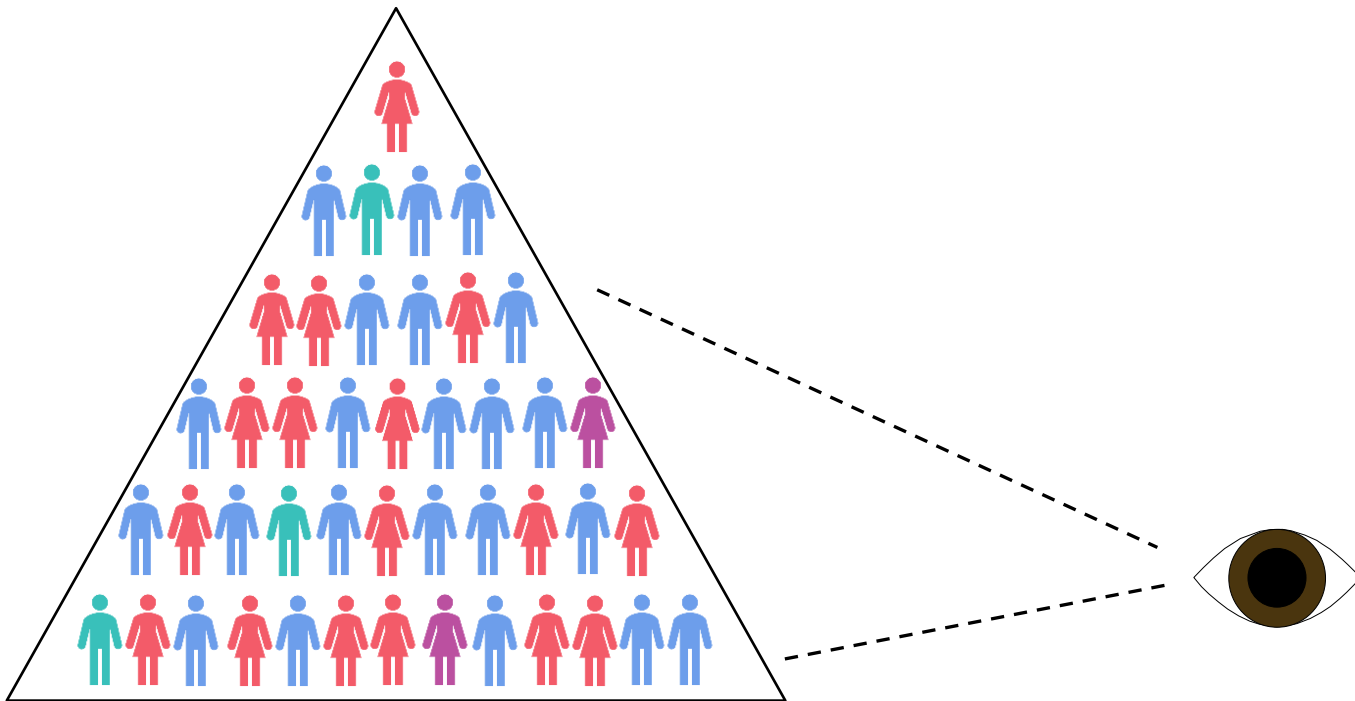
**Adjustment variables:**

clerical track, authority,

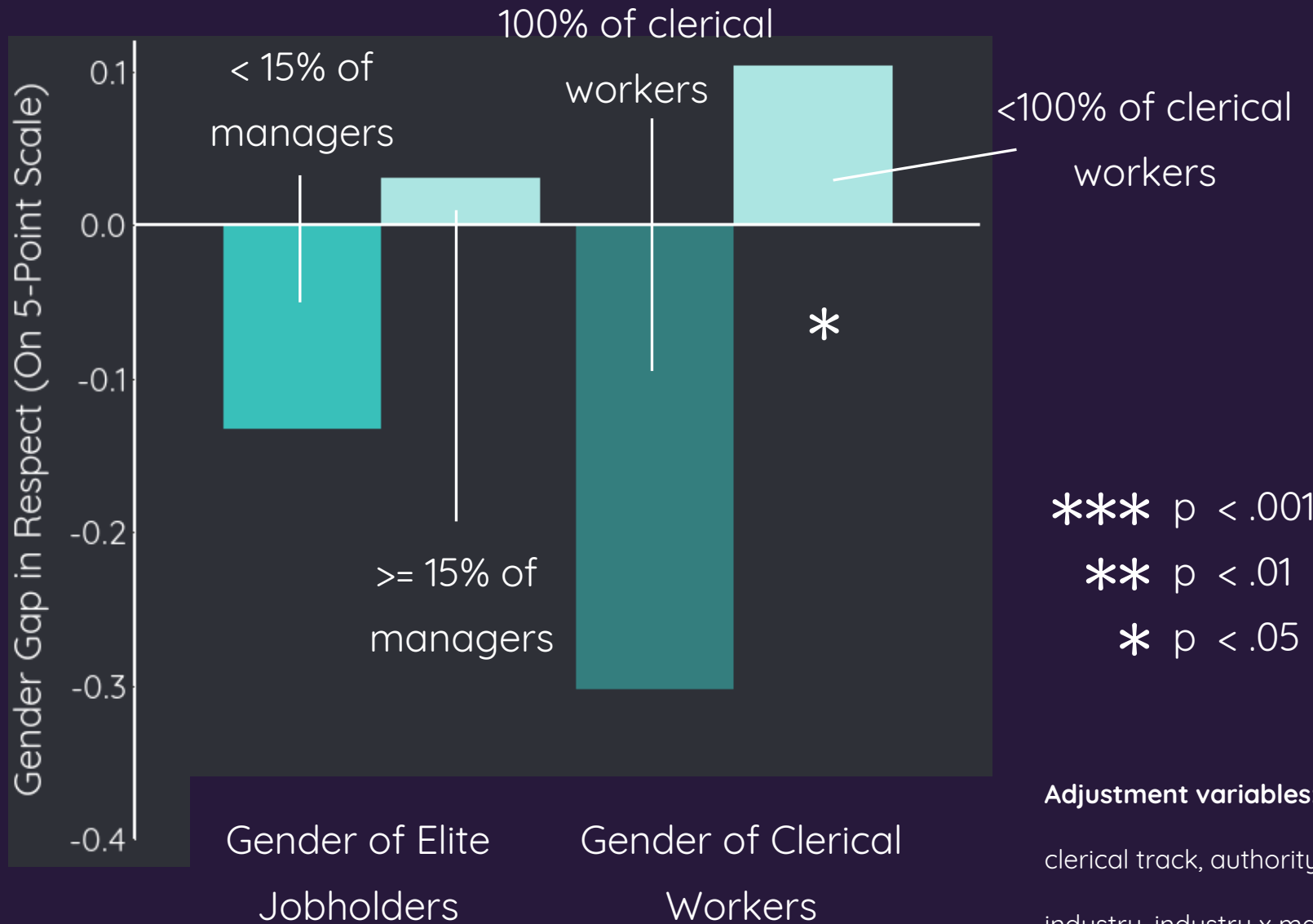
industry, industry x male



## “LOOKING DOWN” VS “LOOKING UP”



# PREDICTED GENDER GAP IN “FEELING VALUED” BY SUPERVISORS (FROM MIXED EFFECTS LINEAR)

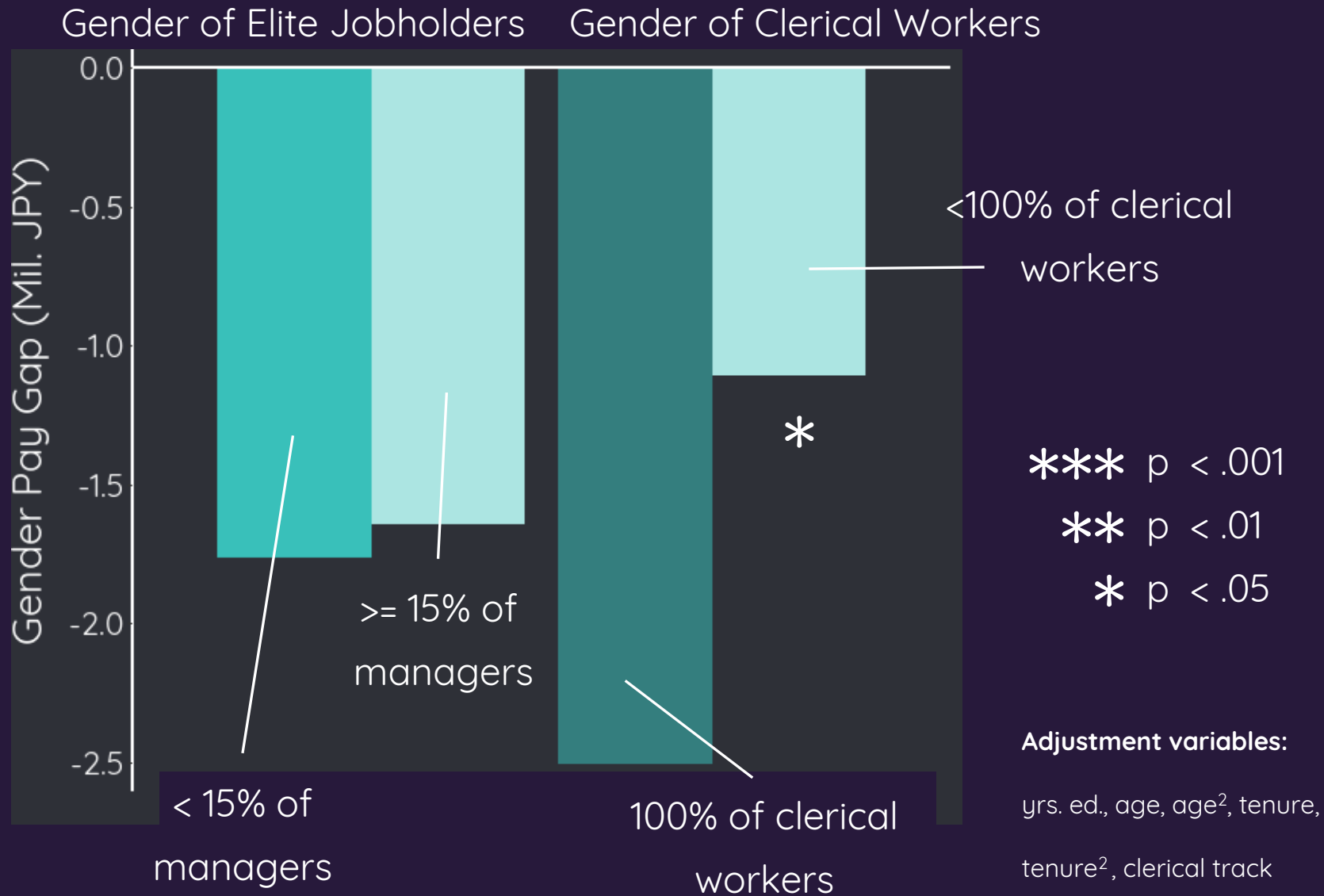






What people see when they “look down” exacerbates or mitigates gender bias more than what they see when they “look up.”

## PREDICTED GENDER PAY GAP BY GENDER COMPOSITION





Firms' choices about whom to assign to the least prestigious jobs matters for how workers' contributions are valued, both objectively and subjectively.



## CONCLUSION



Which outsiders experience the largest barriers to advancement?

Women, regardless of national background



What barriers are the most significant?

Gender bias



What can firms do to get off “Path 1” and on to “Path 2” ?

Desegregate low-status jobs

Thank you.

QUESTIONS?

You can find me at  
[hholbrow@wcfia.harvard.edu](mailto:hholbrow@wcfia.harvard.edu)  
[www.hilaryholbrow.com](http://www.hilaryholbrow.com)



## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS (FIRMS)

Firm	# of Employees	Industry	Sample size	Response rate
A	5,000-9,999	Consumer services	32	100
B	5,000-9,999	Manufacturing	43	100
C	10,000+	B2B Services	35	49
D	10,000+	B2B Services	50	79
E	1,000-4,999	Consumer services	30	100
F	1,000-4,999	B2B Services	81	78
G	5,000-9,999	Consumer services	27	82
H	1,000-4,999	B2B Services	37	100
I	5,000-9,999	B2B Services	142	35
J	10,000+	Manufacturing	23	50
K	10,000+	Manufacturing	29	100
L	500-999	Consumer services	10	71

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS (FIRMS)

Firm	% Women Managers	Clerical track	% Women Regular Employees	# of Foreign Employees
A	7	Integrated	16	
B	3	Segregated	21	
C		Segregated		12
D	20	Segregated	45	12
E	11	Integrated	30	12
F	5	Segregated		99
G	34	Integrated		24
H	10	Integrated	9	40
I	16	Integrated	26	75
J	4	Segregated		207
K	5	Integrated	17	
L	28	Integrated	62	25